779 family. Babies lacking in merit died at their birth, just as mothers whose merit had run low suffered or died in childbirth.

84 [775] [774] [789] A soul desiring rebirth flew into the womb of a woman at conception. By care and imitative magical practices, both parents helped the fetus grow but the mother gave the baby its body. Parturition was a joint effort of mother and child, the course and outcome of which was determined by their respective stores of merit. After delivery the child was blessed, his soul seized and tied in, and ritual means taken that he not wander from home throughout life. A post-partum rest of several days was taken beside a hot fire, the purpose of which was both physiological, i.e. to dry the uterus, and ritual, to bring about full "ripe" adulthood.

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The fire, which was consecrated, strengthened a woman and made her a better nourisher, mature, more compassionate, and eligible to handle magic and the tender souls of living creatures. Thus she was fitted for her life-calling as a woman. The comparable ceremony of maturation for men, when they too were changed from "raw" to mature, compassionate, and strong males for their calling of fatherhood and leadership, was ordination into the Buddhist priesthood. Only those men and women who had undergone their respective rites of maturation were eligible to handle magic. Men's magic gave power, control and could be aggressive. Women's magic was limited to nurturing purposes, and could never be destructive. The respective areas of magical competence and right were autonomous and rigidly separated on pain of severe sanctions.

793 789 562 [688]

844 This view of the role of women in life and the events of childbirth in the earthly and cosmic scene, had the effect of giving women in childbirth a positive, secure, and relaxed outlook, and an understanding and acceptance of suffering so that they had little fear.

[128] How careers in midwifery, whether professional or amateur were established, and the nature of the specialty and of a practice are discussed.

128 844 846 369 178 The understanding of, and the attitudes toward, modern medicine are given along with findings accounting for acceptance or rejection of modern hospital care for parturients. Accepting the changes that were observed in the practices surrounding childbirth proved to be a means of expressing partial withdrawal from the old life of a farmer and a step towards the glitter of urban ways. In the desire to be seen as progressive, the fire rest had been shortened, market products substituted for the consecrated fire, and other urban ways introduced.

000 For persons interested in introducing changes in the

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This economic picture indicates that from early childhood, women had engaged in such physical labor that by 18 years of age they had strong muscles and backs through lifting, stooping, and squatting. Since to stop work during pregnancy was construed as laziness, women worked vigorously up to the day of delivery. If a woman were delivered during one of the hectic seasons, she might shorten her post-natal rest to whatever she thought was a safe minimum.

Marriage

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As people of the community often met at the temple, at ceremonies, and at work parties, there too young people met. Unmarried girls went freely and often alone on duties about the community, and also to Minburī to sell vegetables or take a load of paddy to the mill. To temple fairs and such they went in groups. Though parents hoped their children would marry within the community, a few young people "married out."

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Girls were married between 17 and 27 or so, most frequently around 21 to 23. Since boys at 21 might have to serve 2 years in the army, and were urged to spend as well at least a few months in the priesthood, their marriages took place between 22 and 30, most often around 24 or so. Parents were in no hurry to marry off their grown children at the very age when their productivity was funneling wealth back into the family. However, if male help in the family were short, parents were more receptive to suitors. No girl was married against her wishes nor to a stranger.[4] Marriages might be arranged through formal conversations opened by the man's family and carried on through a go-between, but the girl had the final say. A secret agreement between the partners might even precede negotiations. About half of the marriages were elopements, sometimes arranged because negotiations were dragging, sometimes to avoid the higher costs of more formal arrangements. Marriage, though largely based on socio-economic factors (Phillips:67) was not devoid of personal esteem. Sharp (Bang Chan data at Cornell) has a note on the desirable qualities in a husband as viewed by women. "Sexual virility," last on the list, was minimized in relation to such qualities as "religiousness," "wealth," "industriousness," which headed the list.

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4. A person who uses magical means to force an unwilling woman's love "will be born 500 times as a mad dog."

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magical formulae and incantations (khāthā cf. Textor 1960:80-88; 67-79). It was one of the branches of occultism (saiyasāt [McF. 1940:895]), the ancient science which sought by magical means to control the forces of the heavens and of earth and to manipulate them in behalf of man's interests and enterprises, whether economic, aesthetic, personal, or other. Some of the other branches were dancing, singing, the agricultural rites, boxing, boat- and house-building, and the life-cycle rites. This powerful wisdom was contained in sacred books at the Buddhist temple where it passed, usually orally, from priest to priest. It could be transmitted away from the temple between men, if they had once been ordained. Its transmission was controlled by ritual teacher-pupil relations, and its use by formal request through presentation of a sacred offering, the khwan khāo (cf. Dūan's Tale p.44). Unauthorized magic did not work because it was not validated by its supernatural discoverer; improper ritual behavior incurred strong supernatural sanctions. Instruction in magic and its use was free except for the token offerings and coin in the khwan khāo. The only rigid obligation was a public annual homage-to-the-teacher ritual (wai khrū).

The persons authorized to handle any part of saiyasāt were called mō. In the context of medicine, mō was translated "doctor." To keep the modern and ancient traditions separate, we shall use the Thai word "mō" throughout this paper for the practitioner of the ancient occult art, reserving the word "doctor" for physicians trained in modern medicine.

The field of medicine was split into categories or specialties. There were, for instance, the exorcisers of spirits or disease objects (mō phī), and the curers (mō raksā) who made up decoctions particularly for element imbalances. Astrologist-foretellers (mō dū) analysed disturbances due to astral confluences; soul-ceremonialists (mō khwan) carried on the khwan-strengthening rites; and the mō sanē specialized in love and hate magic. On a lower plane were masseurs (mō nūat) and midwives (mō tamyāe). No specialist could operate in the field of another unless he had formally acquired that specialty. No limits, though, were set on the number of specialties a person might acquire so that all their lives, mō were open to and seeking new knowledge by pilgrimage, discussion, or visit to a Chinese or modern druggist. The major curing specialties were only in the hands of males, but men and women both practiced the minor branches of midwifery and massaging.19

19. A woman medium (khonsong) who cured when possessed by the spirit of a male mō was not entitled to be called mō. Her special circumstances are discussed in "Magic and Maturity."

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to be reborn as man. All women were eager to undergo the post-partum fire at least once. After that modifications might be entertained.[57] Whether the baby lived or died was not pertinent, for the benefits of the fire were for the mother.

Comparison of Male and Female Maturation Rites

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The parallel ritual that fitted men to perform their masculine role was ordination into the Buddhist priesthood. The well-documented Buddhist ends should not be permitted to eclipse this other personal goal. Just as the fire prepared a woman for motherhood, so ordination changed an immature youth into a man ready for marriage and fatherhood. He too was transformed from raw (din) to ripe (auk). Men gained compassion through denial and suffering. Since their natures were seen as hard (khaang), strong, bent on gain, influence, and power, possibly destructive and concupiscent, the severest deprivations were invoked: the renouncement of the gratifications of sex and food. Of the 2, the deprivation of food involved the greatest break with previous habits, for since babyhood, food had been a symbol of maternal care. Hence, a man was cast on his own. His only refuge and support was the Buddha, the law, and the Brotherhood. This self-denial induced the suffering that, coupled with knowledge gained from study of the scriptures, led to compassion. The suffering in no way

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57. The fire-rest though desirable was not obligatory. In 1865, Bradley said it could be "dispensed with in times of civil commotion, for fear of the enemy" and "no damages whatever were suffered whatever to mother or child" (p.79). Like other life cycle rites it was postponed if not convenient (sadwak). Also in times of peace, "a few mothers here and there cannot lie by the fire," and a few say, "they will not" (ibid:p.79). Bang Chan would accept this viewpoint freely as reflecting an individual, constitutional set of elements, or as an autonomous decision of an individual. The woman would never feel herself as competent as a ritually mature person though.

885 793 562 785 [178] 789 885

deprived a man of his masculine strength but was expected to change him into a kind and merciful being.[58] It took at least a three month season (phansā) in the priesthood to make a man mature, responsible, and effective. That this moral fitness was not obtained overnight was given vivid illustration: if a Buddha Amulet, designed for invulnerability, failed to be effective when tested by having a gun fired at it, it was "sometimes jokingly dismissed as a monk (phra) who has just been ordained (būat mai)" (Textor:529). This interesting episode illuminates one other important result achieved by both men and women in their respective maturation rites: authorization to handle magic.

Magic and Maturity

In Bang Chan, magic was powerful. Whatever the purpose, whether beneficial or nefarious, it was effective if all conditions were met. Lest such power fall into unscrupulous hands, the community limited its availability and use to those who had gained the moral qualities and fitness to handle it wisely. Only the ritually mature could be counted on to be compassionate, strong, responsible adults, and so were permitted access to occult powers. Whether by ordination or the fire-rest, to be suk was an absolute prerequisite to magical knowledge. It did not give magical power, but qualified one to seek it out. Since no career in medicine was possible without magic, no man could be a mō who had not been previously ordained.

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The uses of magic by men had entirely different objectives from those of women. Their respective fields did not

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58. "A monk was changed...to be meek and mild." By seeking his morning alms he "show(s) mercy towards creatures" (prōt sat) (Anuman Rajadhon:76-77). Women's tenderness in their maternal function was not associated with shyness. A compassionate woman with a strong winyān soul (which projected the quality of the heart) was enterprising and effective (cf. J.R. Hanks, 1959). Where sexual characteristics were confused, instability in behavior appeared. The cultural expectation was that children and women were delicate (ōn), older people and men were hard (khaeng). "A male who is easily induced to convulse is one who had a 'soft' heart (čhai ōn).; ...and also a 'soft' khwan (khwan ōn).....Such a young man is excitable rather than predictable and dependable, and hence is cause for parental anxiety" (Textor:405).

562 789 [754] [787] love philters, and they might be "sealed up" in childbirth or attacked by khun, their capacities to "liang" were inalienable. If any woman tried to temper with men's magic, a severe sanction fell on her. She became the host of the phī krasū who lived from faeces like a dog.[59] On the other hand in a legendary case a man who tried to perform one of the women's rites to the Rice Mother was destroyed.[60] Furthermore, the Buddhist sanction of sinfulness fell on any man using magic for evil purposes.

562 791 [755] [793] The single channel where women might operate in the men's field of curing, power, clairvoyance, etc. was as a medium (khon song), through possession by a spirit. If possessed by a male mō, she could do everything a mō could do. Men were never mediums. Bang Chan's only medium was possessed by a male mō.[61] During seances she talked and sat like a man, and gave out cures and advice to an eager clientele. Only while wearing the yellow robe of an ordained priest did a man enjoy a generalized eufunction comparable to a woman's nurturing capacity. His powers in many respects were far greater than hers, but limited in her speical province.

[832] [156] [688] [626] [593] 59. My finding is based on Textor's interesting facts (pp. 305-330). He described the hosts of phī krasū as married women ("never a maiden") in their 30's or 40's, who were "invariably" trying to learn love magic. Such women were, however, violating their sexual function as nurturant and worse, their status as "suk" women, ritually established by the holy fire! Ostracism by the community, implemented by fear of contagion through spittle, lasted even unto the deathbed. The phī krasu's daughter alone was immune while giving the devoted care which was every mother's due in her old age, for Bang Chan desired no alienation of this filial duty even out of fear of the terrible sanction on the mother.

[539] [776] 60. The legend ran that once a man instead of a woman went into the rice field to perform the ritual inviting of the Rice Goddess to stay there and be cared for with food and offerings during her pregnancy. The goddess he met was not an immature and tender child-like spirit, but the adult, pregnant being who was powerful, flirtatious, and frightening. Dazzled by her beauty he fell in love with her, and ran away with her, vanishing forever. The goddess, affronted because an improper person arrived to deal with her, destroyed him.

[825] [787] 61. In Bangkok, monkey, cats, or spirits may also possess women.

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27.a. Excuse me, but at present do you have a (wife/husband) who lives and eats with you, or not?
1. Yes 255
2. Yes, qualified _____ 6
3. No 72

[589]
[586]

b. IF NO: Excuse me, but is this because you are widowed, separated, divorced, or is there some other reason?
4. Widowed 45
5. Separated 9
6. Divorced 1
7. Other, specify 10
— No Answer 7

[592]
[162]

28.a. Your own children, all of them that have ever been born, how many are there?
8. None 24
9. One 32
X. 2 to 3 70
Y. 4 to 5 74
0. 6 or more 133

b. How many of your children are still living?
0. None 29
1. One 40
2. 2 to 3 83
3. 4 to 5 82
4. 6 or more 97
— No Answer 2

[165]

c. How many of your children have died?
0. None 198
1. One 44
2. 2 to 3 56
3. 4 to 5 17
4. 6 or more 9
— No Answer 9

[793]
[792]

29.a. Have you ever been ordained as a priest, or not?
1. Yes 187
2. No 31
— No Answer 2

/Male Buddhist (220)/

b. IF NO: In the future, do you want to be ordained as a priest, or not?
3. Yes 20
4. No 11

[593]
[162]

c. ASK ALL: How many sons do you have twenty years old or over?
5. None 176
6. One 56
7. Two 29
8. Three or more 29
— Unascertainable 43

125 29.d. IF R HAS SONS 20 AND UP: Of your sons over twenty, how many have been ordained as Buddhist priests, or not?

[793]

7.	DA	212
8.	None	22
9.	One	58
X.	Two	25
Y.	Three or more	16

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e. Do you have any sons under twenty?

9.	Yes	188
X.	No	108
—	No Answer	37

[793] f. IF YES: In future, do you want your sons under twenty to be ordained as priests, or not?

[782]

Y.	Yes	186
O.	No	—
—	No Answer	2

g. IF YES: But aside from your admirable desire to have them ordained, in your true heart how sure is your expectation? Are you very sure or not very sure, or fairly sure that they will be ordained?

1.	Very sure	140
2.	Not sure	26
3.	Fairly sure	12
4.	Unascertainable	9
	NA	1

h. All over Thailand there are some Thai men who are over 50 but have never been ordained as priests. For what various reasons might this happen?
(See code at end)

[461] 30. Suppose there was some work you could do individually, or that could be done in a small group of two or three, or that could be done in a large group. Which way would you prefer to do the work--as an individual, or in a group of two or three, or in a large group?

8.	Individually	60
9.	Small group	55
X.	Large group	202
Y.	Undecided, depends	4
O.	Unascertainable	12

[572] 31. Around here in KC-KY there are some people who have many close friends and there are other people who have few close friends. And how about yourself? Do you have more close friends than most people around here, or about the same as most people around here, or fewer close friends than most people around here?

5.	More than most	62
6.	Fewer than most	94
7.	About the same	154
8.	Unascertainable	23

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125 42.c. IF DISAGREE: For what various reasons do you disagree?

[369]

If Disagreement (See code at end)

[829]

[793] 43. Do you agree or disagree that all priests are honest and moral men?

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X. Agree	197
Y. Disagree	90
O. Undecided	40
— No Answer	6

[829] 44. Do you think it is right or wrong for a Thai to marry a Chinese?

1. Right	55
2. Wrong	182
3. Unascertainable	91
— No Answer	5

[775] 45. Do you believe that ghosts bother people? Strongly, somewhat, or not at all?

4. Strongly	40
5. Somewhat	136
6. Not at all	124
7. Unascertainable	28
— No Answer	5

[653] 46.a. During the past year, have there been any activities for the public welfare in EC Wat, or not, to which you contributed labor?

1. Yes	231
2. No	102

b. IF YES: For what various activities did you contribute labor?

_____

_____

c. During the past year or so, have there been any activities for the public welfare in the wat, or not, to which you contributed money or goods?

1. Yes	264
2. No	63
— No Answer	6

[651] d. IF YES: For what various activities did you contribute money or goods?

_____

_____

47.a. How about activities not connected with the wat or with religious ceremonies in the home. During the past year, have there been any such activities for the public welfare in EC-KY, to which you contributed labor, or not?

1. Yes	94
2. No	232
3. Unascertainable	7

Question 29.h. Reasons respondents give for why some old men have not served in priesthood (multiple choice replies).

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Immediate deprivation	
Dependents (worry about family, have wives, they have many children)	78
Financial reasons (they are very poor, they have no money, their parents are very poor, in debt)	56
Property (worry about property and profession)	15
Life situation	
Married too young (too early, have wives early, "fell in love, got married, acquired dependents, so could not get ordained")	50
Wrong orientation to life (they believe in a wrong way of life, they are lazy and not religious, they pay too much attention to wordly things, they cannot pray, "they don't think of their parents enough, they think only of themselves, and only of the present")	19
Religious belief system	
Apathy to priesthood (they do not like it, feel indifferent about ordaination, have no intention of being ordained)	43
Indifference to Buddhism (they are not true believers, they did not participate in religion, "they aren't sons of Lord Buddha," "they don't love their race or Buddha")	19
Qualification	
Illiteracy, ignorance (they cannot read, they are ignorant, "afraid cannot abide by teachings and discipline," "they cannot read so they are ashamed if they become priest")	21
Personality (they are ruffians, they are disorderly drinking men, they are poorly brought up, they are not good enough, mental disturbance)	11
Background	
Lack of parental supervision (their parents can't control them, "nobody would give the advice and so they did not enter the priesthood)	5
Parental objection ("Some men have quarrels and their parents don't want them ordained," "they cannot receive permission from their parents")	2
Other reasons ("Because such men did not get ordained in previous incarnation, either," "because he has sinned in the past life and has had luck in this life," "they have to be soldiers," "they don't know the merit of sin," "they are too old, their merit did not reach the certain point so they did not have the chance," "they have children and sometimes feel ashamed before sons who have been ordained," "they forgot")	8
No Answer	63
Don't know, unascertainable	37